

Message Text

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ACTION AF-08

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1251

INFO AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 ZANZIBAR 0079

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PINT, TZ

SUBJECT: ZANZIBAR-MAINLAND TANZANIA RELATIONSHIP ACCOMODATES
NEW CIRCUMSTANCES

REF: (A) 76 ZANZIBAR 21, (B) DAR ES SALAAM 686,
(C) ZANZIBAR 72 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY. RECENT HIGH-LEVEL PERSONNEL CHANGES IN TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT AND ANTICIPATED AMENDMENTS TO INTERIM UNION CONSTITUTION MAY BE VIEWED IN PART AS ADJUSTMENT BY MAINLAND TANZANIA AND ZANZIBAR TO PARTY REORGANIZATION AS WELL AS NEW STAGE IN PREPARATION FOR FIRST VICE PRESIDENT JUMBE TO SUCCEED PRESIDENT NYERERE. INDICATIONS ARE THAT READJUSTMENT IS PROCEEDING MORE SMOOTHLY THAN PARTY MERGER STAGE JUST COMPLETED. PERSONNEL CHANGES INVOLVING ZANZIBARIS REFLECT JUMBE'S INTEREST IN FURTHER STRENGTHENING HIS POSITION AT HOME SO HE CAN DEVOTE MORE TIME TO MAINLAND DUTIES AND, EVENTUALLY, THE PRESIDENCY. ZANZIBAR'S AUTONOMY IS EXPECTED TO BE SUSTAINED THROUGHOUT, EVEN WHEN, ACCORDING TO SCENARIO WHICH KNOWLEDGEABLE ZANZIBARIS NOW SEE AS INEVITABLE, JUMBE GOES ON TO BECOME PRESIDENT OF TANZANIA AS WELL AS ZANZIBAR. END SUMMARY.

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1. TOP-LEVEL PERSONNEL CHANGES DESCRIBED REFTELS BRING TO SIX THE TOTAL OF ZANZIBAR REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL MEMBERS SERVING IN POSITIONS ON MAINLAND IN GOVERNMENT OR ARMY OF UNITED REPUBLIC. COLONEL SEIF BAKARI, WHO BECAME JUNIOR MINISTER OF DEFENSE AND NATIONAL SERVICE IN NOVEMBER 1975, WAS THE FIRST (REFTEL A). HIS TRANSFER SERVED BOTH JUMBE, BY UNDERCUTTING A STRONG OPPONENT, AND PRESIDENT NYERERE, WHO DOES WHAT HE CAN TO WEAKEN THE

REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL, OR AT LEAST MAKE IT MORE PLIANT, IN THE INTEREST OF BREAKING DOWN BARRIERS BETWEEN ZANZIBAR AND THE MAINLAND.

2. NOW BAKARI IS JOINED BY: HASSAN NASSOR MOYO (FORMERLY MINSTATE IN OFFICE OF FIRST VICE PRESIDENT, NOW MINISTER OF HOME AFFAIRS); LT. COL. A. S.NATEPE (FORMERLY IN CHARGE OF ZANZIBAR SECURITY DEPARTMENT, NOW MINSTATE IN THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE); BRIGADIER YUSUF HIMID (FORMERLY LED PEOPLE'S DEFENSE FORCE, ZANZIBAR, NOW BRIGADE COMMANDER AT TABORA); COL. HAFIDH SULEIMAN (FORMERLY CHIEF OF STAFF IN ZANZIBAR, NOW IN AN UNSPECIFIED ARMY JOB IN SONGEA); AND KHAMIS DARWESH (FORMERLY ASSISTANT POLICE COMMISSIONER, NEW POSITION UNUEOWN).

3. ALL SIX ARE ORIGINAL REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL MEMBERS, WHICH IS TO SAY THAT THEY PARTICIPATED IN THE 1964 REVOLUTION, MAY ONCE HAVE HAD STRONG LOYALTIES TO JUMBE'S PREDECESSOR, KARUME, WHO WAS ASSASSINATED IN 1972, AND HAVE TENDED TO LOOK ON DSMBE AS A NEAR CO-EQUAL. JUMBE CONSIDERED MOYO TO HAVE BEEN HIGH-HANDED WHILE RUNNING ZANZIBAR DURING JUMBE'S RECENT LONG ABSENCES. NATEPE STOOD NEXT TO BAKARI AMONG JUMBE'S CHIEF OPPONENTS AND SULEIMAN AND DARWESH WERE ALSO UNCOOPERATIVE.

4. HIMID'S TRANSFER IS LESS READILY EXPLAINED AS HE WAS LOYAL TO JUMBE. HE HAS BEEN SUCCEEDED IN ZANZIBAR BY BRIGADIER MICHAEL MARWA, A MAINLANDER. DEFENSE IS A UNION MATTER AND NYERERE, AS COMMANDER IN CHIEF, HAS CONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY TO APPOINT MILITARY LEADERS IN ZANZIBAR. IN PRACTICE, HOWEVER, ZANZIBAR HAS UNTIL NOW RUN ITS MILITARY AFFAIRS FROM WITHIN. MARWA'S APPOINTMENT IS CONFIDENTIAL

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MENT MAY HAVE BEEN NYERERE'S PRICE FOR ACCEPTING JUMBE'S EXILES. THE APPOINTMENT MAY ALSO SUIT JUMBE, WHO MAY NOW HAVE LESS CONCERN ABOUT CHALLENGES FROM THE ARMY IN ZANZIBAR WITH A PROFESSIONAL MAINLANDER IN CHARGE WHO IS NOT ANTEWBER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL. TRANSFERS TO THE MAINLAND OF 40 TO 50 ARMY AND NAVY OFFICERS WHOM JUMBE CONSIDERS TROUBLESOME IS UNDER CONSIDERATION.

5. IT HAS BEEN DECIDED THAT THE SIX WILL RETAIN THEIR REVOLUTIONARY COUNCIL SEATS, AT LEAST FOR A WHILE. ALL WERE UNHAPPY WITH THEIR TRANSFERS. SULEIMAN AT FIRST REFUSED TO GO. MOYO BELIEVES, PROBABLY CORRECTLY, THAT HE HAS LOST HIS CHANCE TO BECOME LEADER OF ZANZIBAR.

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6. ALI MZEE, WHO SUCCEEDS MOYO AS MINISTER OF STATE IN ZANZIBAR, FITS THE MOLD OF THE PEOPLE JUMBE APPARENTLY WANTS AROUND HIM. MZEE IS UNIMAGINATIVE AND WHOLLY JUMBE'S CREATION. KNOWLEDGEABLE ZANZIBARIS REGARD MZEE'S APPOINTMENT AS A SURE SIGN OF JUMBE'S FUTURE PLANS. THEY BELIEVE HE WILL WANT PLIANT MEN IN ZANZIBAR WHO WILL RESPOND WITHOUT ARGUMENT TO HIS ORDERS AS HIS TIME BECOMES MORE TAKEN UP WITH MAINLAND AFFAIRS. AT A LATER STAGE, WHEN JUMBE SUCCEEDS NYERERE, THEY BELIEVE HE WILL RELY ON THE SAME PEOPLE TO KEEP ZANZIBAR QUIET AND UNDER HIS CONTROL. IT IS WIDELY CONSIDERED THAT THE ONLY QUESTION LEFT ABOUT JUMBE'S PLANS IS TIMING. ONE VIEW HOLDS THAT NYERERE WOULD WANT TO REMAIN PRESIDENT AS LONG AS THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS HAVE A ROLE IN SEEKING SOLUTIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

7. TANZANIAN GOVERNMENT AND PARTY CHANGES IN RECENT WEEKS HAVE RAISED THE NEED FOR AMENDMENTS TO THE INTERIM UNION CONSTITUTION, SOME OF WHICH GO TO THE HEART OF THE ZANZIBAR-MAINLAND TANZANIA RELATIONSHIP. THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY IS SCHEDULED TO MEET IN APRIL TO APPROVE AENDMENTS WHICH WILL BE PREVIOUSLY AGREED ON AS A RESULT OF NEGOTIATIONS NOW UNDERWAY.

8. FROM ZANZIBAR'S VIEWPOINT, THE MOST IMPORTANT ITEM IS SAFE-
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GUARDS TO PREVENT CHAMA CHA MAPINDUZI, WHICH WILL BE DECLARED SUPREME IN AMENDED CONSTITUTION, FROM INTERFERING IN ZANZIBAR'S AFFAIRS CONTRARY TO ZANZIBAR'S WISHES. SAFEGUARDS IN NEW CCM CONSTITUTION MAY BE COPIED. QUESTION OF CONSTITUTIONAL COMMISSION (76 ZANZIBAR A-27) REMAINS UNSETTLED, BUT ZANZIBAR IS ALREADY CONSIDERING WHO IT WILL NOMINATE TO COMMISSION. IT

IS CONSIDERED QUITE POSSIBLE THAT ZANZIBAR MAY HAVE TO AGREE TO HAVE AT LEAST SOME ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES IN THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY (ALL ARE NOW APPOINTED). AS A CONCESSION TO ZANZIBAR, THE CONSTITUTION IS EXPECTED TO BE AMENDED TO MAKE IT POSSIBLE FOR JUMBE TO BE PRESIDENT OF TANZANIA WHILE CONTINUING AS PRESIDENT OF ZANZIBAR.

9. COMMENT. ALTHOUGH MAINLAND TANZANIA AND ZANZIBAR ARE IN THE PROCESS OF ADAPTING THEIR RELATIONSHIP TO NEW CIRCUMSTANCES, ZANZIBAR WILL MAINTAIN ITS AUTONOMY MUCH AS BEFORE. THE FEDERATION IS LIKELY TO OPERATE WITH MORE LEGAL PRECISION THAN IN THE PAST. UNION MATTERS, SUCH AS DEFENSE, WILL BE TREATED AS SUCH. THE EXACT LIMITS OF AUTONOMY MAY BE SUBJECT TO CLOSER SCRUTINY. THE KEY LINK IS NOW JUMBE, WHO ALONE HAS AN INFLUENTIAL FOOT IN EACH CAMP. HE CAN BE EXPECTED TO CONTINUE TO CONSOLIDATE HIS POSITION AT HOME, PARTICULARLY BY NEUTRALIZING ANY REMAINING OPPONENTS. JUMBE IS EXPECTED TO CONTINUE AS A STAUNCH DEFENDER OF ZANZIBAR'S AUTONOMY ALTHOUGH HE WILL PROBABLY BE MORE FLEXIBLE WHERE ZANZIBAR'S INTERESTS CLASH WITH THE UNION'S.
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